

Indonesia's Islamic Party & Humanitarian Issue: PKS Response to Palestine

by Demeiati Nur Kusumaningrum

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**Indonesia's Islamic Party & Humanitarian Issue: PKS
Response to Palestine**

**Demeiati Nur Kusumaningrum¹, Dimas Aditya², Gain
Albaherdana³, Beny Sapto Guritno⁴**

**Departement of International Relations. - Universitas
Muhammadiyah Malang**

**Email: demeiati.nk@umm.ac.id, dimasaditya742@gmail.com,
gainalba123@gmail.com, guritnobenny@gmail.com**

Abstract

This paper aimed to discuss Indonesia's political stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the response of the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) as prominent Islamic Party in Indonesia. It argued that PKS becomes political influencer of Indonesia foreign policy formulation toward Middle East. Thus, it is interesting to question how PKS response toward humanitarian crisis in Palestine and what kind of determinant influence its response. This paper used descriptive qualitative research method. Primary data were obtained from interviews with PKS members and content analysis of PKS publications and media released. Secondary data obtained from literature review. This study examines PKS encourages Jokowi administration to discuss the Palestine issue in international forum. Secondly, the PKS influenced the government's consideration by the demonstration against the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Third, PKS influences public opinion about the humanitarian crisis in Palestine through mass media. PKS's response to Palestine issue is based on political ideology influenced by the Constitution, Pancasila, and international perspective of muslim brotherhood by Ikhwanul Muslimin.

Keywords: *Humanity, Islam, Palestine, Party, Politics*

Introduction

Palestinian-Israeli conflict occurred since 1948. Starting from the British-occupied Palestinian territory caused tension between Arab and Jewish descent. The UN Resolution decided to separate the two nations into two different areas. Israel accepted the territory of the United Nations and declared itself an independent state. Meanwhile, the Arabs judge this action as another form of colonization from England. The international community is considered to be betraying Palestine and this makes Palestine declare war on Israel. Israel won the war. The Palestinian territories set by the UN on resolution 181 became narrower. The Palestinian-Israeli border line survived until 1967 when Israel declared a 6-day war and won it back. Israeli society moves to occupy Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza. They build their settlements and make the Palestinian territory smaller, triggering Palestinian anger. Various negotiations have been attempted to resolve the practice of Israeli settlement enlargement. The Oslo Agreement in 1990 has granted the Palestinian right to manage its administration after the Israeli military acquisition. However, signed agreements have not been able to resolve the settlement problem. Until 2016 there are about 570,000 Israeli live in the West Bank (Quigley, 2013; Bar-Siman-Tov, 2014; Beinín & Hajjar, 2016).

Indonesia and Palestine are not an allied country neither has a remarkable diplomatic history. However, Indonesia's support for Palestinian independence as a sovereign state has disturbed Israel's tranquility. Through the IIPAC statement, Indonesia is considered to be the cornerstoned of the Jewish state. The Director of Indonesia Public Affairs Comittee (IIPAC), Benjamin Kethang, on June 2, 2013 expressed his disappointment over the Indonesian responded that tends to corner Israel and Jews. According to hisresponded, the various elements of Indonesian's society often blames the Jews and Israel for all the on going problems,this circumstances could disrupt

the relations between the two countries even could trigger a war. Indonesia's response to Israel's actions most likely see negatively. Israel feels this problem can trigger conflict and even a war. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government's support for the Palestinian influenced by the commitment on values of humanity and anti-imperialism. Indonesia considers that Palestinian independence and sovereignty should receive more of international recognition. This government's stance is part of the embodiment Indonesia's foreign policy principles (Sammy, 2013).

This paper presents to explain the political standpoint of Indonesia through different perspectives of political parties. If the Indonesian government stated the support for Palestine is part of the foreign policy principle, it is interesting to analyze how the Islamic parties behaves. Thus, this paper is interested in knowing Indonesia's political stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the response of the *Partai Keadilan Soaial* (PKS) as the largest representation of Islamic parties in Indonesia and the ideational foundation that supports its actions.

The Role of Political Parties in Government's Structural

In the political system, a party is one of the actors that influence state's policy making. Gabriel Almond (1962) in "The American People and Foreign Policy" states that party members can act as elitists that influence the decision making process of state policy - policy influencers (Coplin 2003: 82). According to Coplin, a party plays a role in translating the demands of society into political demands. A Party seeks to influence government policy by suppressing the authorities and providing actor who can play a role in decision-making. A party also serves as a bridge of two-way information providers that influence policy makers and constituent community members. If there is only a single party, as in a communist country, the party usually consists of numbers of factions

with different ideological interests and commitments. However, the unity of a party is considered as a sacred commitment so that the debates referring to ideological differences are generally kept secret. Meanwhile, in an open political system like in multi-party Western countries, debate considered normal. Even as in the United States, political transactions between Democrats and Republicans are more frequent than internal consolidation within the respective parties (Coplin 2003: 84-85).

Some literatures is optimistic about the role of the party in the political structure of a country, but there is also a pessimistic impression. In Storey's book (2007: 168) on political parties in the United States, the US Founding Fathers are very suspicious about the existence of political parties. It is understood from their writings that consistently expressed the view that the Party would be divisive and relative used to promote the interests of their members by sacrificing of a wider society. The ideological differences in the party colored political debate throughout decades in the United States, it is related to two major parties that dominate the elections the Republican Party and the Democratic Party.

The Republican Party, founded in 1854, as an anti-riot party, it instantly attracted support of the northern states, where slavery ceased to exist. After the Civil War (1861-1965), the Republican party tended to represent the interests of the wealthy industrialists who dominated the territory of the northern states. Thus, the party that allows slaves to become citizens developed into a business party of middle range class. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party received support from the underclass of urban area in the North and South. Republicans and Democrats splited apart when the Civil War occurred, but gradually regrouped after the war ended. In the South, Republic represent the interests of Anglo-Saxon Protestant groups in most of rural areas. In the North, the Democrats represent an ethnic group from Europe that often looked down upon by Anglo-Saxons,

such as Ireland, Italy and Poland. These immigrants are Catholic and work in the most industrialized parts of the country(Storey, 2007:168-169).

On the other hand, political parties are believed to play a role in mobilizing the masses into large coalitions of constituents that affect the structure of government. The Party and its candidates support an ever-changing government plan and seek to balance the government towards the orderliness, freedom and equality for the people, and to provide the national security for the state. Party officials are tasked with initiate, proposing candidates, and offering platforms to help constituents make political choices (Duncan & Goddard, 2003: 109).

In Indonesia, Law No. 2 Year 2008 mentions political parties as national organizations and formed by a group of Indonesian citizens voluntarily on the basis of similarity of willingness and idea to fight for and defend the political interests of its members, society, nation and state, and to maintain the unity of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and 1945 Constitution of The Republic of Indonesia.

A Party is a political organization formed by a group of citizens in bringing out political activities to regulate or control the government so that the goals and ideals of the nation's ideals can be achieved in accordance with the wishes of the people. Political Parties tasked with translating the interests and values of society that will be brought to the parliamentary room. To that end, the Political Party must be able to collect the interests of the people and design it into a law or government policy that will be used as an agenda to gain popular support (Meyer, 2012)

The Policy-making or legislation can occur when a political party has a seat in the government. The larger number of party members in parliament, the voice of political parties will be increasingly heard and dominate the state policy. The support of the people is very important to make political parties able to occupy the parliament

through elections as proof of public trust. Therefore, Political Parties should be able to place the people as part of the political process beside the ideological goals that want to achieve (Rosana, 2012).

Constructivist Perspective: Global Norms vs. Local Effects

Constructivism as a social analysis approach that emphasizes the role of 'human consciousness' in social life. They believe that human interaction is primarily shaped not only by material factors but also ideational elements that disseminated as intersubjective beliefs. These intersubjective beliefs are not only inherited to a man but also internalized as considerations the interests of the actors.

Finnemore and Sikkink (2001) on journal "TAKING STOCK: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics" explained the basic idea of constructivism. It relates to the implications of constructivism on research methodology, including the different constructivism that lies in its theoretical arguments rather than its empirical research strategy. Thus, the writings of Finnemore and Sikkink (2001) emphasize the study of constructivism literature and its debate in the study of International Relations and Political Comparison.

Finnemore and Sikkink (2001) argue that the starting point of the emerged constructivist was since the election of Robert Keohane as President of the International Studies Association in 1988. Keohane marked a new approach in international politics known as the "reflective approach". Keohane (1988) conveyed "success or failure of the new approach to depend on its ability to inspire and support a vigorous program of empirical research". The challenge of Keohane then answered by the works of Adler (1997), Prince & Reus-Smit (1998), Ruggie (1998), and Wendt (1999).

According to John Ruggie (1998: 856), "constructivism is about human consciousness and its role in international life". Constructivism focuses on the role of ideas, norms, knowledge, culture, and political

arguments that attached in an intersubjective understanding of social life. Particularly, referring to Adler (1997), Prince & Reus-Smit (1998), Ruggie (1998), and Wendt (1999) constructivism emphasize on: 1) Human interaction primarily formed not solely by material factors but also consideration ideational; 2) Ideational factors emerged into intersubjective beliefs that are not only inherited per individual but also widely spread; 3) This intersubjective belief is attached and ultimately shapes / underlies the interests and identities of the actors (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001).

This is as described by what Searle's portray (1995) as "social facts" - where money, sovereignty, and rights, in reality does not exist. Yet all is applied because people collectively put their beliefs in their existence. Thus, constructivism is opposed to realism, liberalism, or marxism, and works at different levels of understanding. Constructivism is not a political theory but a social theory (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001).

Constructivism emphasizes the basic nature of social life and social change. Constructivism does not discuss the content of the social structure or the nature of the 'agents' in social life. Consequently, constructivism does not produce specific predictions about political outcomes that may be tested by political science research. Constructivism in this case is same as 'rational choice'. They offer a thinking framework about the origins of social interaction and social life but do not give any claim about its content.

"In a rational choice analysis, agents act rationally to maximize utilities, but the substantive specification of actors and utilities lie outside the analysis; it must be provided before analysis can begin. In a constructivist analysis, agents and structures are mutually constituted in ways that explain why the political world is so and not otherwise, but the substantive specification of agents and structures must come from some other sources." (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 393)

According to Finnemore and Sikkink (2001) both constructivism and rational choice does not provide substantive explanations or predictions of political stance without understanding more of who the relevant actors are, what they want, and what the content of the social structure is. Constructivist ontological assumptions understand that actors are shaped by the social environment in which they live and constructivism works to answer: how does this happen and what the results? Thus, constructivism emerges as an expiation theory on explaining the process and its results.

Constructivism more about understanding the attachment of something important to the actors' consideration in acting and what underlies the decision of political policy. "an understanding of how sovereignty, human rights, laws of war, or bureaucracies are constituted socially allows us to hypothesize about their effects in world politics." This process is causality, so that political actions and their effects can be studied (Wendt 1998, Barnett & Finnemore 1999 in Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001).

Constructivism focuses on the debate between how domestic / local responses to international norms (global norms vs local effects). Constructivists believe that norms, cultures, and other social structures become 'causal force' and the structure is not only the result of the hegemony of a particular country's interests. Norms and social understandings often produce different effects on different actors (agents). Thus, the main task of constructivism is to work to explain this phenomenon. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001: 397)

As Checkel's said in the *European Journal of International Relations* (1997) and *World Politics* (1998), "not only different states react differently to the same international norms, but also mechanisms by which norms are internalized within states differ as well." Both the concept of democracy and national security can have differences in the context of implementation due to differences in the interpretation of the actors. This social construction through

a certain process and mechanism. Finnemore and Sikkink (2001: 405-411) explained how the state adopts the global norm through the role of internalization of ideas and political change (especially in economic policy); the growth of political culture in response to democracy; the existence of social movement (social movement theory); and understanding of community identity.

Furthermore, normative and ideational structures shape the identity and interests of actors through three mechanisms: imagination, communication, and constraint. Imagination is an understanding that affects on how actors should act, an understanding of what limits their actions and the strategies they plan, which makes it easier for them to achieve what they want, where actors are perceived to have internalized certain values and norms on their actions (Reus-Smit 2005: 198-201 in Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001).

Communication aspect can be observed from the efforts of international relations actors legitimize their actions by instituting the norms they believe to be legitimate conduct. Institutional norms are not solely because of the pressure of power as alleged by realist thinkers. But the rationalization of these ideas or norms comes from the moral forces that have been normatively grown and embedded in their social environment. The actors make moral arguments that encourage the acceptance of normative perceptions in the interaction of international politics. Thus, the growing understanding that the norm or values are part of him. This circumstances by constructivist seen as a constraint mechanism (Reus-Smit 2005: 198-201 in Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001).

Constructivists believe that there is a connection between ideas and power, the existence of certain actors or parties that are powerful or play a major role in the social construction process. According to Finnemore and Sikkink (2001: 400-1), these parties become the norm of entrepreneurs who play a role in building discourse or public opinion, setting the agenda, and mobilizing the masses.

These parties can be interpreted as activists or transnational civil society. On their role, they can work with and within government or bureaucracy through the internalization of the values or norms they believe. Where these transnational civilians can influence the political and policy conditions of the country.

PKS Response to Palestine Independence

The PKS responds towards the Palestinian and Israeli conflict as an issue of sovereignty and humanity. As an Islamic party in Indonesia, Muslim solidarity underlies the political stance of the PKS in responding to the Palestinian independence issue. PKS is the largest Islamic party in Indonesia which had 40 seats in DPR RI. A number of PKS leaders who are responsible for representing the party's interests in the legislatures include Fahri Hamzah. He is a PKS politician who was elected as one of the deputy chairmen of the DPR RI and Coordinator of the People's Welfare Division (Korkesra). The scope of the division is responsible for Commission VIII, Commission IX, and Commission X. In this regard, the PKS has also made several voices about the liberation of Palestine. Member of Commission I of foreign affairs Ahmad Zainuddin said that Indonesia should prove itself as the largest Muslim country in the world, becoming the pioneer of Palestinian liberation at the OKI Conference held on 6-7 March 2017 in Jakarta (PKS, 2016).

Zainuddin respects the role of Indonesia in developing humanitarian aspects in Palestine, such as training and education cooperation for Palestinian youth, the establishment of Indonesian Hospital in Gaza, dispatching logistical aid to Palestine, establishing honorary consuls in Ramallah, but Zainunddin thinks that Indonesia's diplomacy is still insufficient and is still limited mainly in the issue of humanitarian diplomacy. (MCC, 2016).

Representing the PKS, Zainuddin assessed that the Indonesian government should utilize the OKI summit meeting to discuss

the issue of Palestine. The Indonesian government is expected to strengthen diplomacy and lobbying in the OKI forum to bring Israel to an international court or to create a roadmap for the Palestinian liberation. Zainuddin added that the OKI summit that held in Jakarta on 6-7 March 2016 was expected not only as a ceremonial routine but further more encourage the organization to be more serious to defend and liberate Palestine until it become an independent and sovereign state and urged Israel to return the land of Palestine by their annexed since 1948 (PKS, 2017).

In this Zainuddin statement, it appears that PKS members who enter parliament can take full advantage of their role to help Muslims around the world through the Indonesian government. In addition, the *Partai Keadilan Sosial* (PKS) also strongly criticized the Israeli police 's actions that fired on Al - Aqsa Mosque Imam Sheikh Ikrima Sabri. The PKS faction urges the Indonesian Government through the UN and other diplomatic channels to pressure the Israel to stop all forms of aggression against the Palestinian people. The Chairman of PKS faction, Jazuli Juwaini, strongly condemns the actions of the Israeli police and calls it a serious offense against humanity, human rights and Palestinian sovereignty (Sulistya and Firmansyah, 2017).

In addition, the PKS provides the latest information media on Palestine and aims to influence public opinion through the website "pks.id". This could be understood from the example of PKS news released through their website entitled "*Merawat Rekonsiliasi Hamas-Fatah* (Caring for Hamas-Fatah Reconciliation)" uploaded on October 18, 2017 (PKS, 2015). To demonstrate its support for Palestinian independence and sovereignty, the PKS conducted demonstrations and raising humanitarian funds for Palestinian victims as the action of the DPD MCC Surabaya. Thousands of PKS mass Surabaya held a solidarity demonstration for the Palestinian people on Sunday 25 November 2012.

The demonstrator also collected infaq (donation) on their action

then handed over directly to victims of war in Palestine. PKS infaq box presented to road users in front of Grahadi State Building Surabaya, Gubernur Suryo street. Some fundraising officers also entered into a bus that passing by to request the infaq to the passengers. DPD MCC Chairman of Surabaya, Ibn Shobir said, the results are directly given to the Palestinian people through PKS cadres who are send to flight directly to Palestine, namely Ustadz Sholeh Drehem (Faizal, 2012).

The PKS Background responds to the liberation of Palestine

PKS's political stance that encouraged the Indonesian government to defend Palestinian independence through OKI forums, demonstrations, website media, and humanitarian fundraising was motivated by the ideology of PAN Islamism Ikhwanul Muslimin and its commitment to Indonesian foreign policy. Historically, the Ikhwanul Muslim believes that the collapsed of the Ottoman Caliphate could be the cause of the collapsed of Islamic values in politics. This understanding arises because there is no Islamic political system that becomes an umbrella to protect and unite Muslims around the world. As an international Islamic movement, the Ikhwanul Muslim was founded in response to the collapsed of the Caliphates Islamiyah in 1924. The last Islamic caliphate was the Ottoman Empire, where then collapsed and was replaced by the secular system of Mustafa Kamal Atatürk. Hassan al Banna formed the Ikhwanul Muslim organization to unite all Muslims. Muslims are directed to return to the Islamic Shari'a, rejecting all forms of colonialism and Western imperialism. The Ikhwanu Muslim's thoughts affect the political structure of some countries, such as the AKP Party in Turkey, Hamas in Palestine (Rofii, 2017) and the *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* in Indonesia.

The ideology of the Ikhwanul Muslim movement spread throughout the Islamic world and was able to attracted the sympathy of Islamic societies around the world in both academic and non-

academics. The Ikhwanul Muslim's idea invites Islamic countries around the world to escape from western colonialism both structurally and culturally and purify the Islamic system in Muslim-majority countries (Damanik, 2002). In Indonesia, the Ikhwanul Muslim movement affects the Islamic community especially in the 1970s and 1980s. At that time, the guidance pattern of Indonesian society has been based on the standard pattern of teaching Ikhwanul Muslim, popularly known as "Usrah". Usrah or "Usroh" is a term related to education, especially Islamic teaching method (tarbiyah Islamiyah). In the scope of student affairs, Usrah's coaching pattern was first applied by Ir. Imaduddin Abdul Rahim who at that time served as chairman of Islamic Student Da'wah Institution at Masjid Salman ITB and Campus Dakwah (preach) Institution spread in various campus, such as UGM, UI, IPB and others (Damanik, 2002: 71). Through campus dakwah activities, the ideology of the Ikhwanul Muslim began to be taught and implemented. The reform era that attracted wider political participation, activists of the campus dakwah succeeded in establishing a party called the *Piagam Deklarasi Partai* (Party Declaration Charter) and subsequently encourage the establishment of the *Partai Keadilan* (Justice Party) legitimized by Yusuf Al Qordhowi an ulama (scholar) of the Ikhwanul Muslim movement in Egypt (Qardhawi, 2001).

In addition, PKS's position of defending Palestinian independence is a realization of PKS's mission and objectives contained in the Constitution of PKS / PKC which reads "Making the Party as a platform on realizing an equitable civil society, prosperous and dignified approved by Allah Subhanahu wa ta'ala, Republic of Indonesia "(AD / ART PKS: Article 6). The Party functions as the defender of political interests of society, nation and state (AD / ART PKS: Article 8). The *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS) is obliged to help build a public political awareness, defend, serve and empower citizenship rights and contribute to uphold justice and reject tyranny

especially against colonized Muslim countries. The PKS with Ikhwanul Muslim's urges to enforcing Islamic law and realizing the return of a Muslim-majority country to apply the Islamic law (Damanik, 2002).

This paper believes that the PKS contributions on supporting Palestinian independence because the PKS is one of the political parties that share same ideology with the Ikhwanul Muslim and wants to show its Islamic identity by protesting the government through parliament in hopes Indonesia could lobby the UN or OKI to liberate the Palestinian people. According to PKS, Indonesia as the largest Muslim country should defend the rights of other Muslim countries (PAN Islamism).

Based on AD/ART PKS Article 6, the words "madani" are relevant to the character of Islamic societies. This has affected on the PKS's perspective in response to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, which is not only sovereignty issue but also a humanitarian issue. The Palestinian people are perceived as colonized and living in inhuman conditions in conflict situations. PKS also strongly supports the Indonesian government in participating in the liberation of Palestine which comes from AD / ART Article 5. In this article mentioned that the PKS has always been a pioneer party in realizing the national goal. Then, it becomes the foundation of PKS's political stance to realizing Indonesia's foreign policy principles. The preamble of the 1945 Constitution has affirmed that freedom is the right of all nations and, therefore, the colonization of the world must be abolished because it is incompatible with humanity and justice.

Conclusion

The ideational foundation of the PKS's stance of supporting Palestinian independence and sovereignty is influenced by 1) Identity as an Islamic party that holds the spirit of PAN Islamism; 2) PKS idealism embodies a social justice, prosperous and dignified; and 3)

PKS's commitment as a party within the government structure that always supports the principles of Indonesian foreign policy-upholds humanitarian and anti-colonial values.

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